

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ISO-00 SWF-02 AID-20 CEA-02 CIAE-00

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INFO AMEMBASSY BERN

AMEMBASSY BONN

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AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

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E.O. 11652: NA

TAGS: ELAB, XT, EEC

SUBJECT: KULAKOWSKI APPOINTED TO ETUC SECRETARIAT AND OTHER
ETUC DEVELOPMENTS

RE: EC BRUSSELS 5034

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: ON JULY 9 THE ETUC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE VOTED UNANIMOUSLY TO APPOINT JEAN KULAKOWSKI, THE FORMER GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE NOW EXTINCT EUROPEAN ORGANIZATION OF THE WORLD CONFEDERATION OF LABOR (EO/WCL) TO THE ETUC SECRETARIAT. THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ALSO ORDERED THE CREATION OF TWO WORKING COMMITTEES TO STUDY ENERGY AND INFLATION AND DIRECTED THE SECRETARIAT TO CONTINUE ITS EFFORTS TO SECURE A TRIPARTITE SOCIAL PARTNERS' MEETING WITH THE EC COUNCIL OF MINISTERS. MISSION LABOR ATTACHE CONTACTS WITH ETUC SECRETARIAT OFFICIALS SINCE THE JULY 9 EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING INDICATE THAT GERMAN DGB OPPOSITION TO CGIL MEMBERSHIP IN THE ETUC (SEE REFTEL) WAS POORLY ORGANIZED AND DEEPLY RESENTED BY A LARGE MAJORITY OF ETUC LEADERS. END SUMMARY.

2. ALMOST LOST IN THE WAVE OF PUBLICITY ACCOMPANYING THE ETUC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE'S DECISION TO ADMIT THE CGIL WAS THE APPOINTMENT OF KULAKOWSKI TO THE ETUC SECRETARIAT. THIS REQUIRED THE CREATION OF A THIRD ETUC SECRETARY. THE OTHER SECRETARIES ARE WALTER BRAUN OF THE GERMAN DGB AND ALFRED MISSLIN OF THE FRENCH FO. KULAKOWSKI, A POLISH-BORN BELGIAN CITIZEN, IS GENERALLY REGARDED AS ONE OF THE MOST ASTUTE AND EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION LEADERS IN EUROPE. HIS APPOINTMENT WAS PROPOSED BY ETUC ASSISTANT GENERAL SECRETARY CARLSEN, WHO DEFEATED KULAKOWSKI AND MISSLIN IN A THREE-WAY RACE FOR THE NUMBER TWO JOB AT THE ETUC COPENHAGEN CONGRESS IN MAY. KULAKOWSKI'S PRESENCE SHOULD BOLSTER THE OTHERWISE LACKLUSTER AND INEFFECTIVE SECRETARIAT.

3. THE ETUC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE WAS SO THOROUGHLY ABSORBED WITH THE CGIL QUESTION THAT VERY LITTLE TIME WAS DEVOTED TO THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ISSUES WHICH WERE RAISED AT COPENHAGEN. TWO WORKING COMMITTEES TO STUDY ENERGY AND INFLATION WERE CREATED, AND THE SECRETARIAT WAS INSTRUCTED TO LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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CONTINUE TO SEEK A TRIPARTITE MEETING BETWEEN THE SOCIAL PARTNERS (UNIONS AND EMPLOYERS) AND THE EC COUNCIL OF MINISTERS. THE DUAL PURPOSE OF THE MEETING WITH THE COUNCIL IS TO DISCUSS ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN EC COUNTRIES AND TO GIVE THE TRADE UNIONS A VOICE IN DETERMINING EC SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC POLICY.

4. IN JUNE OF 1973 AND AGAIN LAST FEBRUARY THE EC COUNCIL, IN

RESPONSE TO ETUC PRESSURES, TOOK THE INITIATIVE IN SCHEDULING MEETINGS WITH THE SOCIAL PARTNERS, BUT ON BOTH OCCASIONS THE TRADE UNIONS BALKED OVER THE COMPOSITION OF THE TRADE UNION

SIDE, REFUSING TO ALLOW PARTICIPATION BY THE GERMAN DAG AND FRENCH CADRE UNIONS. CONSEQUENTLY THE MEETINGS WERE NOT HELD. HOWEVER, EC COMMISSION SOURCES INDICATE THAT THE COUNCIL IS WILLING TO MEET WITH THE SOCIAL PARTNERS IF THE DAG AND CADRE UNIONS ARE GIVEN OBSERVER STATUS AND THERE ARE NOW SIGNS THAT THE ETUC WILL ACCEPT THIS CONDITION. THE ETUC'S DALLIANCE ON THIS ISSUE COUPLED WITH ITS SLOWNESS IN RESPONDING TO OTHER DEVELOPMENTS IN THE EC AFFECTING WORKERS HAS ENGENDERED A FAIRLY LOW OPINION OF THE ETUC AMONG OFFICIALS OF THE EC COMMISSION, PARTICULARLY IN THE SOCIAL AFFAIRS DIRECTORATE.

5. A POSTMORTEM BY THE UNSUCCESSFUL OPPONENTS OF CGIL ADMISSION, INCLUDING MEMBERS OF THE ETUC SECRETARIAT, FINDS A SCAPEGOAT IN THE GERMAN DGB. ACCORDING TO ETUC SOURCES WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE JULY 9 MEETING, THE GERMANS WERE OVER-CONFIDENT. THEY WERE CONVINCED THAT CGIL BACKERS ON THE ETUC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE WOULD FALL THREE OR FOUR VOTES SHORT OF THE TWO-THIRDS REQUIRED FOR RATIFICATION OF CGIL ADMISSION. THEY HAD MISTAKENLY COUNTED ON SUPPORT FROM THE DANES, IRISH, DUTCH CATHOLICS AND SWISS SOCIALISTS IN THEIR EFFORT TO POSTPONE A VOTE WITH THE AIM OF FORCING THE ITALIANS TO MAKE A CLEAN BREAK FROM THE WFTU. ELEVEN VOTES WERE NEEDED. THE GERMANS WERE ONLY ABLE TO MUSTER SEVEN, INCLUDING THREE OF THEIR OWN. A FRENCH FO SOURCE PLACED THE BLAME ON THE INDECISIVENESS OF GERMAN DGB PRESIDENT VETTER, WHO IS ALSO PRESIDENT OF THE ETUC.

6. RESENTMENT AGAINST THE GERMANS WAS NOT CONFINED TO CGIL OPPONENTS. BRITISH TUC PRESIDENT LEN MURRAY TOLD THE BRITISH LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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LABOR ATTACHE AFTER THE MEETING THAT THE DGB EFFORT WAS A "TYPICAL, UNHAPPY AND HEAVY-HANDED GERMAN MANEUVER." MURRAY, BELGIAN LEADER GEORGES DEBUNNE, AND BRUNO STORTI OF THE ITALIAN CISL WERE THE CHIEF ADVOCATES OF CGIL ADMISSION. JEF HOUTHUYS OF THE BELGIAN CHRISTIAN UNION WAS THE PRINCIPAL SUPPORTER OF THE GERMAN POSITION, BUT HIS EFFECTIVENESS WAS DIMINISHED BY A GENERAL FEELING THAT HE WAS MORE OPPOSED TO HIS FELLOW BELGIAN DEBUNNE THAN TO THE CGIL. THERE HAVE BEEN ILL FEELINGS BETWEEN DEBUNNE AND HOUTHUYS FOR MANY YEARS STEMMING FROM POLITICAL DIFFERENCES IN THE BELGIAN LABOR MOVEMENT.

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7. AFL-CIO REPRESENTATIVE IRVING BROWN, WHO WAS IN BRUSSELS FOLLOWING THE ETUC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING FROM A DISTANCE, TOLD THE MISSION LABOR ATTACHE THAT THE ADMISSION OF THE CGIL MEANS THAT EVENTUAL EXTENSION OF ETUC MEMBERSHIP TO THE FRENCH CGT IS JUST A QUESTION OF TIME. THIS VIEW IS GENERALLY HELD BY MANY BRUSSELS-BASED INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION LEADERS WHO PREDICT A TIME FRAME OF ONE TO TWO YEARS FOR ITS ACCOMPLISHMENT. THE RECENT PRESS CONFERENCE OF CGT LEADER GEORGES SEGUY (SEE EC BRUSSELS 4622) AT WHICH HE PLEDGED CONTINUED CGT ALLEGIANCE TO THE WFTU, IS CONSIDERED A DETERRENT TO EARLY CGT ADMISSION TO THE ETUC.

8. COMMENT: THE MORALE OF THE ICFTU LEADERS, WHO EXPERIENCED A BRIEF SURGE OF HOPE SPRINGING FROM THE SAD STATE OF ETUC DISUNITY FOLLOWING ITS CONGRESS IN COPENHAGEN, HAS REACHED A NEW LOW. THE DAYS OF THE SPECIAL AND EXCLUSIVE RELATIONSHIP WHICH THE ICFTU HAS ENJOYED WITH THE ETUC ARE CLEARLY NUMBERED. THE EIGHT CHRISTIAN UNIONS WHICH JOINED THE ETUC AT COPENHAGEN HAVE RETAINED THEIR AFFILIATION WITH THE WCL. THE CGIL REMAINS A MEMBER OF THE WFTU AND THE QUESTION OF ASSOCIATED STATUS VERSUS DIRECT AFFILIATION NOW SEEMS ACADEMIC. THE ADDITION OF CGIL SWELLS ETUC MEMBERSHIP TO 37 MILLION. WITH THE ETUC FUNCTIONING AUTONOMOUSLY IN EUROPEA AND THE AFL-CIO PROBABLY MORE DETERMINED THAN BEFORE TO REMAIN OUTSIDE OF THE ICFTU, THE ICFTU IS ALMOST TOTALLY RELEGATED TO NURSEMAIDING ITS 12 MILLION NON-DUES PAYING AFFILIATES IN AFRICA, ASIA AND LATIN AMERICA. ADDITIONALLY, THE POSSIBILITY OF A COORDINATED WEST EUROPEAN APPROACH TO EAST-WEST TRADE UNION RELATIONS AS ADVOCATED BY THE ICFTU IS REMOTE AT BEST.

9. CGIL ADMISSION COULD ALSO AFFECT ETUC RELATIONS WITH THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY. THE EVOLVEMENT OF A UNIFIED ETUC POLICY VIS-A-VIS THE COMMUNITY IS ALREADY SERIOUSLY HAMPERED BY THE CLEAVAGE BETWEEN UNIONS FROM EEC COUNTRIES AND NON-EEC COUNTRIES WITHIN THE ETUC. THE BRITISH TUC IS FEEDING THIS DIVISION BY ENCOURAGING THE NON-EEC UNIONS TO BLOCK ETUC SECRETARIAT EFFORTS TO CONCENTRATE ON EC MATTERS. CGIL LEADERS COULD CONCEIVABLY PLAY THE BRITISH GAME WHEN AND IF IT SUITS THEIR PURPOSES AND, THUS, THE CGIL'S POSTURE WITHIN THE ETUC ON QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE COMMUNITY MAY WELL PROVIDE A BAROMETER FOR DETERMINING WHERE CGIL POLITICAL INTER-LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ESTS REALLY LIE; THOSE TRADE UNION LEADERS WHO SUPPORTED CGIL MEMBERSHIP IN THE ETUC DID SO IN THE BELIEF THAT THOSE INTERESTS LIE IN ITALY AND WEST EUROPEA AND NOT IN THE PROMOTION OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST OBJECTIVES.GREENWALD

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